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The Ziyāda of the Mosque of al-Hākīm and the Development of the Ziyāda in Islamic Architecture

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Since his publication of it nearly fifty years ago, Creswell's identification of the monument known today as the *zāwīya* of Abu'l-Khayr al-Kulaybān with the gate to the *ziyāda* of the mosque of al-Hākīm has not been questioned.¹ Creswell based his identification on a reading of al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ* which is demonstrably wrong. A re-reading of al-Maqrīzī's text shows that the monumental gateway must be one of the gates to the ablutions area of the mosque of al-Hākīm. Acceptance of this further leads to the conclusion that the entrance to the *ziyāda* of the mosque mentioned by al-Maqrīzī must have been considerably more to the south, and the *ziyāda* hence much larger than was previously thought. This paper will discuss the evidence to support these conclusions, and in addition review the putative purposes of the *ziyāda* in this and other mosques, a topic that so far has not been the subject of any systematic study.

When it was built (990-1003) the mosque of al-Hākīm was outside the Fatimid city walls of al-Qāhira, the main entrance being just to the north of the original bāb al-Futūḥ. Between the years 1087-92 the wazīr Badr al-Gamālī rebuilt the walls in stone instead of their original mudbrick and at the same time enlarged the enclosed area so that the mosque of al-Hākīm now was within the city.

Two separate medieval sources mention that the *ziyāda* of the mosque of al-Hākīm was built by al-Hākīm's son, al-Zāhir (r. 1020-35).² As we shall see from subsequent accounts of its surroundings, it must have been located to the south of the mosque and have taken up a considerable amount of space. But as the mosque originally abutted the city wall on the south, it is clear that either the wall must have been destroyed to make way for the *ziyāda* or else it must have decayed rapidly in the fifty years in which it had been built. The latter may well have been the case, as the Persian traveller Nāsir-i Khusrāw who visited the city in 1047 reported that it was unvalled.³

The basis for Creswell's identification of the *zāwīya* of Abu'l-Khayr al-Kulaybān (n^o 477 on Fig. 1) as the gate to the *ziyāda* is a passage from al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ* which, as he says, takes the reader on a walk from bāb Zuwayla to bāb al-Futūḥ. Creswell's summary of al-Maqrīzī is as follows:

"He mentions the mosque of al-Aqmar, and the lane to the north of it leading to the Khānqā of Baybars al-Gāshankīr in Gamālīya, then, on the left, the entrance to Ḥāret Bargawān (at the side

1 K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1952-9) (hereafter *MAE*), vol. 1, pp. 115-7.

2 Al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-a-shāʿ fi shiʿat al-inshāʿ*, 14 vols. (Cairo, reprinted 1963), vol. 3, p. 360-1; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-manāʾiz wa'l-iʿtibār bi dhikr al-khīṭaṭ wa'l-āthār*, 2 vols. (Bulaq, 1270/1853-4), vol. 2, p. 278.

3 *Safarnāma*, ed. Vahid Dāghāni (Tehran, n.d.), p. 74, tr. W. M. Thackston as *Nāser-e Khosraw's Book of Travels* (New York, 1986), p. 46.

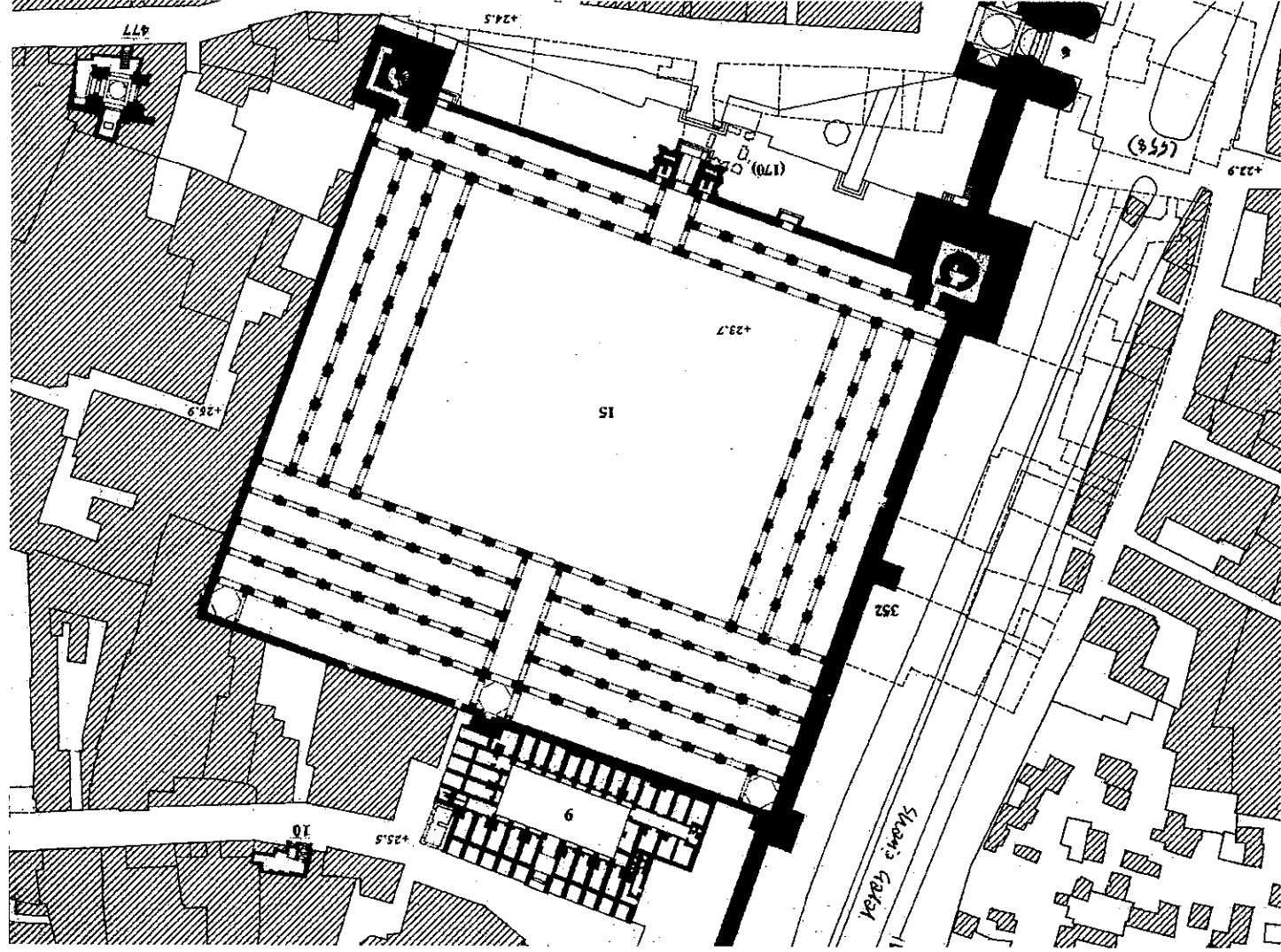


Fig. 1 Map of Cairo: areas adjoining the mosque of al-Hakim (ARCE/EAP; Warner, N 1997. For the American Research Center in Egypt; Copyright 1997 ARCE. Prepared under a USAID grant)

of which today is the Sīlahdār Mosque), then the Sūq al-Mutai'yichin, formerly called Sūq Emīr al-Guyūsh. At the extremity of this bazaar on the right was a cul-de-sac (which still exists), and on the left a road leading to the Suweiqat Emīr al-Guyūsh (the Sūq Margūsh of today), which leads to Bāb al-Qanṭara. Then, continuing north, came the Gamalūn Ibn Šairām (evidently a bazaar with a gable roof). There stood the Madrasa of Ibn Šairām, and at the end of the *Gamālūn* (gable roof) on the right, was the entrance to the *Ziyāda* of the mosque of al-Ḥakim. Then came one of the gates of the Gāmi' al-Ḥakīm,⁵⁴ "then 'passing on one finds on the right another of the gates of the Gāmi' al-Ḥakīm,' then 'going on one finds on the right the grand entrance of the Gāmi' al-Ḥakīm...'"⁵⁵

Unfortunately Creswell or his translators omitted much of great significance in al-Maqrīzī's text. Let us take up the text after his mention of the *ziyāda* of al-Ḥakim:

"At the end of the Jamalūn is the door of the *ziyāda* of the mosque of al-Ḥakim. At its door was a number of shops which sold wooden locks for doors. Two routes lead from the Jamalūn: one to the cul-de-sac of the Franks (*darb* al-Firānīyya), to the *wakāla* residence (*dār* al-wakāla) and to bāb al-Nasr avenue (*shārī'*), the other leads to *darb* al-Rashīdī, which opens on to *darb*⁶

al-Jawwāniyya (Fig. 2). Following this route, one finds on the right the window of the madrasa Sayramiyya, in front of which is the door of the market hall (*qaysāriyya*) of the princess (*khawand*) Ardakīn al-Ashrafiyya. Then, going ahead, one crosses the suq of the sellers of merchandise for caravans (*al-murahlīlīn*) which had two rows of shop with everything needed for harnessing camels. This suq is in ruins and now little remains of it. In the suq on the left is a lane (*zuqāq*) called *hāra' al-wirāqa*; opening on this lane is one of the gates of the market hall (*qaysāriyya*) of the abovementioned princess and a number of dwellings; its location was known formerly as *istabl* al-Ḥujariyya. Then continuing, on the right is one of the doors of the mosque (*gāmi'*) of al-Ḥakim and its ablutions area (*mūda'a*) and then the old bāb al-Furūḥ, of which there remains only an arch

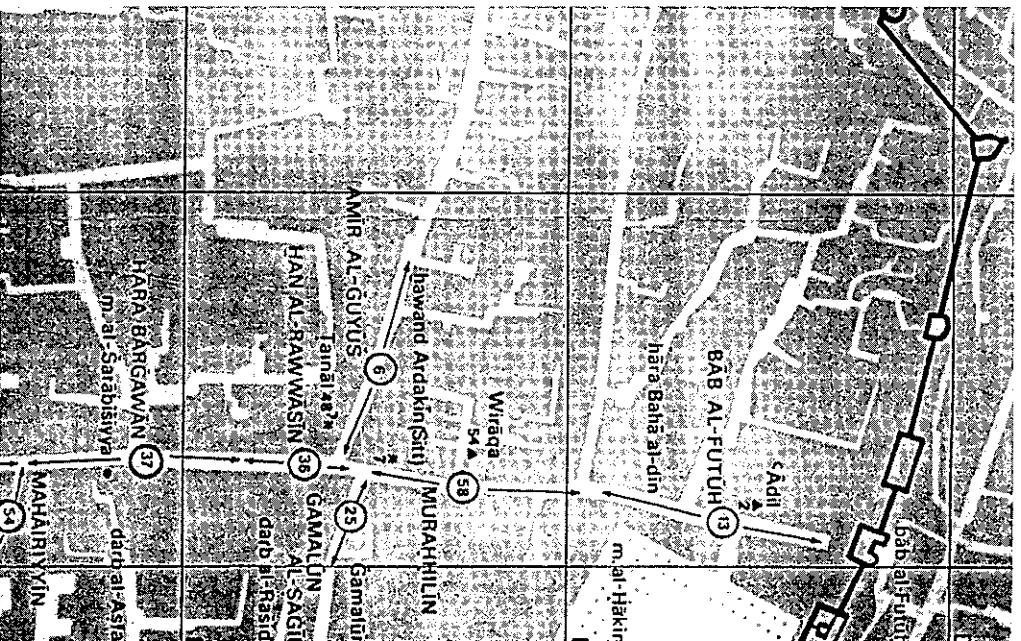


Fig. 2 Map of Cairo: markets to the south of bāb al-Furūḥ (after Wiet and Raymond).

4 Creswell, *MAE*, vol. 1, p. 117.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

6 As pointed out by A. Raymond and G. Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire* (Cairo, 1979), p. 105, *darb* is written in error for *hāra* (quarter) here.

7 According to *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, one should read *khān* here instead of *hāra*.

and part of its supports. Beside it, on the left, an avenue (*shāri'*) leads to the Bahā' al-Dīn quarter and bāb al-Qanṭara. Then following the main route and passing the suq al-Muta'ayyishīn one finds on the right another door of the mosque of al-Ḥākim. Then continuing, one finds on the left a lane with a covered passage (*sābā'i*) which leads to the Bahā' al-Dīn quarter where there are many dwellings. Continuing, one finds on the right the main door of the mosque of al-Ḥākim."⁸

This more complete passage makes the identification of the *zāwiyya* of Abu'l-Khayr al-Kulaybā'i secure. Its location was clearly between the lane of *hārat al-wirāqa*, which still stands, and the old bāb al-Futūḥ, which must have been just to the south of the mosque of al-Ḥākim. The non-alignment of the *zāwiyya* of Abu'l-Khayr al-Kulaybā'i with the mosque of al-Ḥākim might lead to the suspicion that it could in fact be the old bāb al-Futūḥ, but three arguments weigh against this. Firstly, the old bāb al-Futūḥ was on the main street where on the left an avenue lead to bāb al-Qanṭara, a location still clearly recognisable as the avenue now to the southwest of the southern minaret of the mosque of al-Ḥākim. Secondly, already in the fifteenth century, as we know from al-Maqrīzī's description, it was much more ruined than the condition of the *zāwiyya* of Abu'l-Khayr al-Kulaybā'i in the twentieth century (Figs. 4-5). And thirdly, the *zāwiyya*, as Creswell convincingly showed (Figs. 3-6), is oriented in the form of a gateway on an east-west axis, and not a north-south one, as the old bāb al-Futūḥ must have been.

The *zāwiyya* of Abu'l-Khayr therefore must be "one of the doors of the mosque of al-Ḥākim and its ablutions area (*mīḍa'a*)" mentioned above by al-Maqrīzī. The location of the main door to the *ziyāda* is confirmed by al-Maqrīzī's description elsewhere of the suq al-Jamālīn, which he says leads from the entrance of the *suwayqat* (little suq) of amīr al-Juyūsh to the Jawwāniyya quarter and bāb al-Naṣr, and then to *raḥbat* bāb al-ʿĪd; beside it is the cul-de-sac (*darb*) Farhiyya, where one can find the Ṣayramī madrasa and the gate to the *ziyāda* of the mosque of al-Ḥākim.⁹ It thus seems that the entrance to the *ziyāda* was considerably further south than originally thought. The entrance to the *mīḍa'a* is likely to have been adjacent or even within the *ziyāda*, and so the present *zāwiyya* of Abu'l-Khayr could also be seen as another, subsidiary door into the *ziyāda* of the mosque.

Acceptance of these findings means that the *ziyāda* was also much larger than has been previously thought (Fig. 7). What could such a large extension have been used for? Before reviewing the evidence from the five other mosques which we know to have had *ziyādas*, I will quote from some of the medieval sources which mention the *ziyāda* of al-Ḥākim and matters which may be pertinent to it.

The earliest source is Qalqashandī, who gives the following information:

"The *ziyāda* which is adjacent to the mosque was built by al-Zāhir b. al-Ḥākim, then it was determined in the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb that it was part of the mosque and that it had a mihrab. They accordingly confiscated it from the owner and added it to the mosque. It was built in the fashion in which it now stands by al-Mu'izz Aybak the Turcoman [r. 1250-7], and it is not roofed."¹⁰

In al-Maqrīzī's account of the mosque in the *Khiṭa'i* he enlarges upon the account of Qalqashandī.¹¹ After saying that it was repaired by al-Ṣāliḥ, he mentions that the Franks had been imprisoned there, that they had built churches inside it (indicating a very lengthy stay) and that al-

⁸ *Khiṭa'i*, vol. 1, pp. 375-6.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 101; Raymond and Wiet, *marshās*, pp. 184-5.

¹⁰ See n. 2 above.

¹¹ *Khiṭa'i*, vol. 2., p. 278, ll. 5-9.

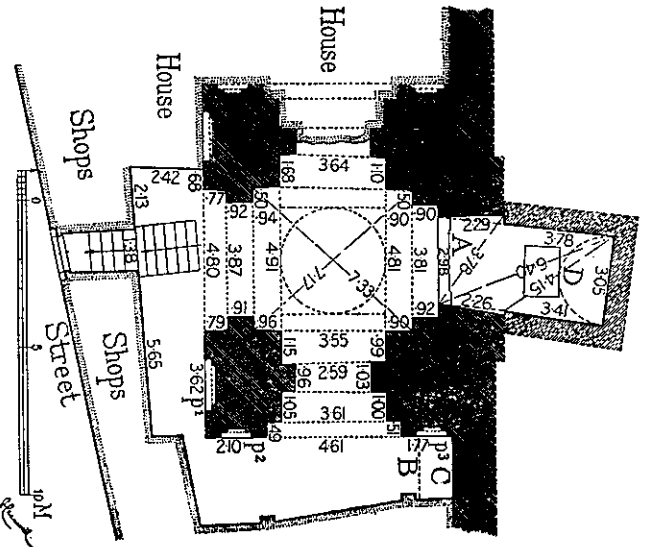


Fig. 3 Cairo, gate to the ablutions area of the mosque of al-Ḥākim (the zāwīya of Abu'l-Khayr al-Kulaybānī), plan (after Creswell)



Fig. 4 Cairo, gate to the ablutions area of the mosque of al-Ḥākim (the zāwīya of Abu'l-Khayr al-Kulaybānī), interior, before restoration.

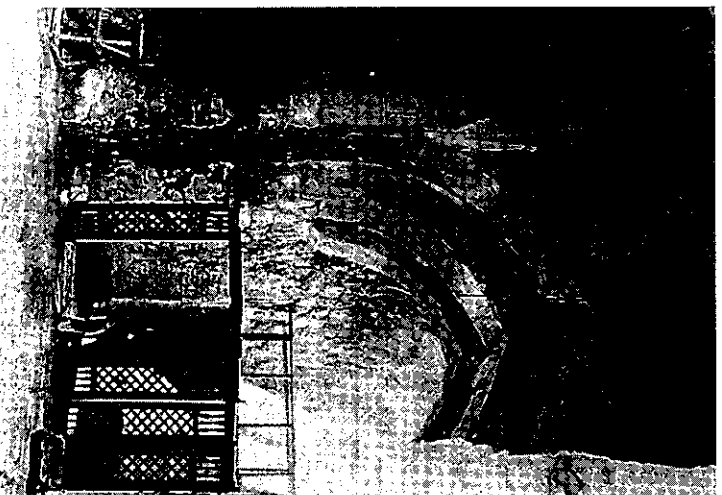


Fig. 5 Cairo, gate to the ablutions area of the mosque of al-Ḥākim (the zāwīya of Abu'l-Khayr al-Kulaybānī), interior, before restoration.

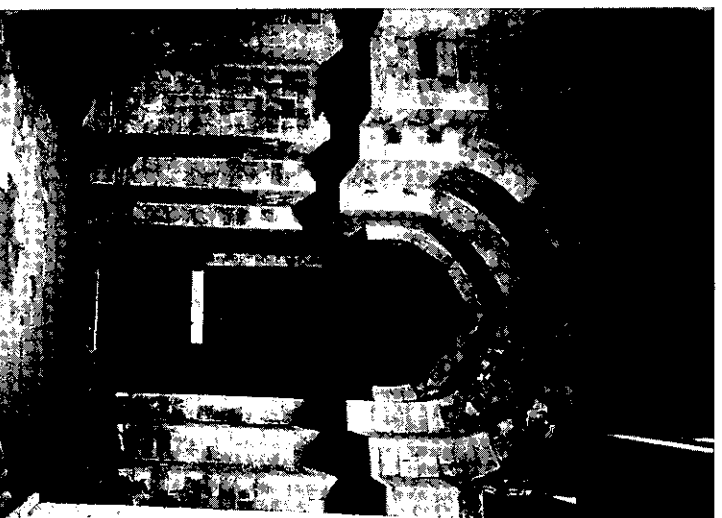


Fig. 6 Cairo, gate to the ablutions area of the mosque of al-Ḥākim (the zāwīya of Abu'l-Khayr al-Kulaybānī), interior, after restoration.

Returning to al-°Aynī, he then adds that Baybars rebuilt the mosque as we see it now, and added a wide *ziyāda* for the *muṣallīn* (for those praying). No other source records Baybars's building of a *ziyāda*, so I am inclined to be sceptical of this – it is more likely that Baybars simply repaired the existing *ziyāda* at this time.

On three occasions in the 15th century: 1420, 1437 and 1464, funerary prayers were said for members of the same clan, the Bulqīnīs, whose family vault was in the madrasa of Sirāj al-Dīn °Umar al-Bulqīnī in the Bahā al-Dīn quarter opposite the mosque on the west.¹⁶ Nothing very remarkable about this, one would think, except that on one of these occasions, for the funeral of the chief qadī in 1420, his coffin, according to Ibn Taghribirdī, was taken in through the door of the al-Ĥākīm mosque which is on the street near bāb al-Nasr and carried out after prayers through the door which is near bāb al-Futūḥ and taken to his burial place.¹⁷ It was not the custom to bring coffins into mosques in Muslim funerals, although occasionally, as in the Qarawīyīn mosque in Fez, a mosque for the dead could be an annex to the main structure.¹⁸ Perhaps there was less objection to the presence of a coffin in a *ziyāda*.¹⁹ This would necessitate, according to Ibn Taghribirdī's account, a door in the *ziyāda* on the bāb al-Nasr and bāb al-Futūḥ sides of the mosque. There was a door in the qibla wall of the mosque to the right of the mihrab, as another passage in al-Maqrīzī informs us,²⁰ and fortunately, in his description of the area beside Bāb al-Nasr, he mentions that there were two doors to al-Ĥākīm on this side, the second presumably being that of the *ziyāda*.²¹ The exit door for the coffin could have been the main door of the *ziyāda* on the south mentioned by Maqrīzī, but was more likely, since it was closer to the Bahā al-Dīn quarter, the side door leading to the *mīdā'a* (e.g. the *zāwīyya* of Abu'l-Khayr al-Kulaybārī).²²

In 1412 we read of an unusual purpose for the *ziyāda*: The Jews and Christians were rounded up within it for the payment of the poll tax (*jizya*). Their wealth was assessed and they were kept within the *ziyāda* until their families were able to pay the appropriate amount.²³

The presence of multiple gates in the mosque is indirectly attested by two reports in the fifteenth century, in 1418 and 1440. The *muhitāṣib* in 822/1419-20 forbade women and children to cross the mosque,²⁴ while in 1440 Dawlat Bey al-Dawādār, when restoring the mosque, closed all the doors, except two, for several days, then reopened them all, but forbade anyone to cross the mosque with their shoes on. He also rebuilt the *mīdā'a*.²⁵

The last mention of the *ziyāda* that I have found comes in 1452, when according to Ibn Iyās someone informed the sultan that a crystal box had been found in the *ziyāda* of the mosque of al-Ĥākīm; in it were papers which purported to guide the finder to a cache of hidden treasure. The sultan ordered the *naẓīr al-khāṣṣ* Yūsuf to investigate further; he in turn ordered the chief judge to

16 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, tr. Popper, vol. 14, p. 113; vol. 17, p. 174; vol. 23, p. 104, al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, vol. 4, part 2, p. 600.

17 Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm*, tr. Popper, vol. 23, p. 104.

18 See Henri Terrasse, *La mosquée al-Qarawīyīn à Fès* (Paris, 1968), pp. 45-6.

19 There was one, presumably wholly exceptional occasion when coffins were permitted inside the mosque of al-Ĥākīm itself, on the occasion of prayers during the great plague of 1348. The coffins were laid out in pairs from the door of the *muqāṣṣira* to the main door; the imam stood on the threshold so that the people outside could follow him: *Sulūk*, vol. 2, part 3, p. 782.

20 *Khiṭa*, vol. 2, p. 280, 1. 34.

21 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 277, 1. 6. Creswell, *MAE*, vol. 1, p. 74, perhaps forgetting the later existence of the *ziyāda*, argues that this would have been another door beside the mihrab.

22 These multiple doors could also have been relevant when, in 1388, horsemen managed to enter the city and open the gates of bāb al-Nasr and bāb al-Futūḥ which had been shut by rebels, by entering the mosque of al-Ĥākīm from the north side (marked on the plan in Creswell, *MAE*, vol. 1, Fig. 32) and then taking diverging paths towards the two gates: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 620.

23 Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, vol. 4, part 1, p. 247.

24 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, part 1, p. 511.

25 *Ibid.*, vol. 4, part 3, p. 1223.

be present, and they made several guards dig down as far as the water table, but without finding anything.²⁶

Having reviewed some of the uses which the *ziyāda* of the mosque of al-Ḥākim was put to and its later history, we should also consider the motivations which al-Zāhir had when ordering it in the first place. Initially his aunt, who may well have been responsible for the death of her brother al-Ḥākim, acted as regent for him, but unfortunately, the meagre sources on his reign have nothing else to say regarding his or her building activities. Al-Zāhir did continue (at least initially) his father's practise of holding Ramaḍān processions to the congregational mosques of al-Azhar and al-Ḥākim.²⁷ Could the *ziyāda* have been connected with these?

Initially, one would think that it is unlikely that the *ziyāda* would have figured in any of the attendant ceremonies. Although the gate to the *ziyāda* of the mosque of al-Ḥākim was closer to the Fatimid palace than the main gate of the mosque, the main gate provided an axial approach to the mihrab aisle with its architecturally prominent clerestorey. One would also naturally assume that the gate of the *ziyāda* was less imposing than the main gate. The evidence of the gate to the *mīḍa'a* (Figs. 3-6) may suggest otherwise, however: if this subsidiary gate was built on such a grand scale, then the main gate to the *ziyāda* would surely have been even grander. There must have been substantial property in the north part of al-Qāhira which would have had to be purchased and cleared to make way for this *ziyāda*; and a prominent gate would have been a logical architectural and political response to this large expenditure. That something other than just provision of extra space was involved is suggested by the urban setting of the mosque at the time: it was built outside the walls, and so extra worshippers could easily line up in the open space outside the main door (as they did at the mosque of 'Amr, for which see further below). In fact, adding a *ziyāda* to the mosque would have been easier on any of the three sides, all outside the former walled city, other than the one on which it was actually built. This underlines the pressing reasons, whatever they may have been, for building the *ziyāda* on the southern side. Perhaps a review of the earlier mosques which had *ziyādas* will help us understand its potential functions.

The great mosque of Samarra

The first mosque with planned *ziyādas* around it seems to have been the great mosque of Samarra, built by al-Mutawakkil in the middle of the 9th century.²⁸ When built, and even today, this was the largest mosque in the world, with an area of 38,000 sq metres. What then could be the point of surrounding it with *ziyādas* whose area in themselves (without the enclosed mosque) is 128,944 sq m, almost three and a half times that of the mosque itself?²⁹

They are clearly visible in a previously unpublished plan of the mosque (Fig. 8) from the Herzfeld archive.³⁰ The plan shows four hypostyle areas, two with and two without courtyards, flanking the minaret: presumably spaces that were used to give cover to those praying. However, this must only have been a sketch plan. Excavations by the Department of Antiquities of Iraq in the northeast corner revealed a plan (Fig. 9) which shows that only a small part of this area was hypostyle, the remainder consisting of rooms of varying sizes around a courtyard, the north and

²⁶ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Baḍā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duḥūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 5 vols. (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1960-72), vol. 2, p. 317.

²⁷ Paula Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany, 1994), p. 64.

²⁸ It has been suggested that the rebuilding of the congregational mosque of Qayrawān by Ziyādat Allāh in 221/836 may have involved a *ziyāda*, but this remains to be confirmed by excavations: Jonathan Bloom, *Minaret: Symbol of Islam*, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, 7 (Oxford, 1989), p. 91; Bernard O'Kane, "The Rise of the Minaret" *Oriental Art* n.s. 38/2 (Summer, 1992), p. 113, n. 6.

²⁹ The basic treatment of the mosque is in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols. in 3 parts (Oxford, 1969) (henceforth *EMA*), vol. 2, pp. 254-65.

³⁰ I was unaware of the existence of this plan until Alastair Northedge most kindly made it available to me.

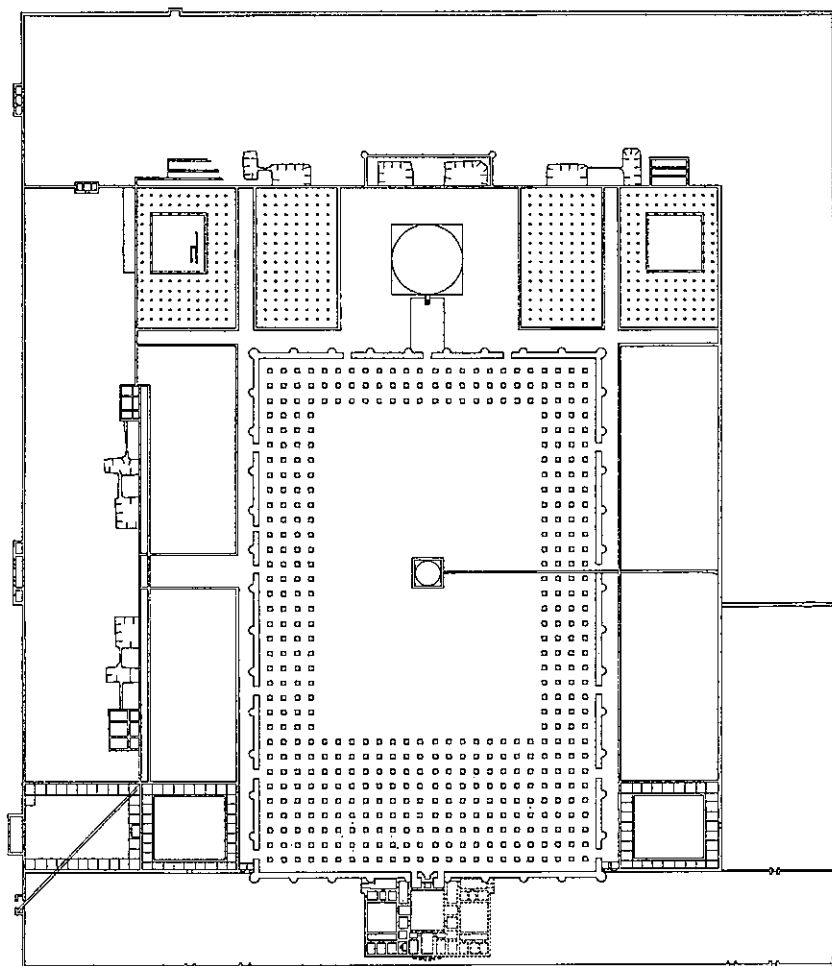


Fig. 8 Samarra, *jami'* of al-Mutawakkil, plan (after Herzfeld).

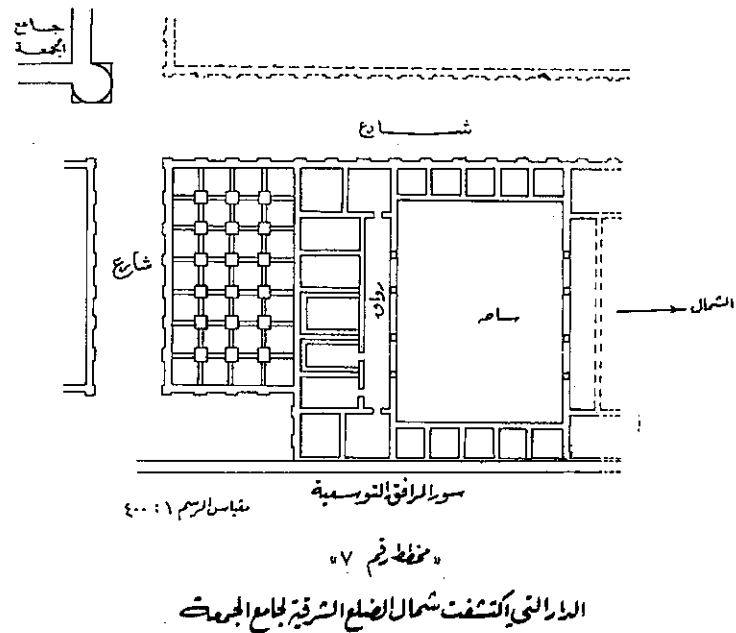


Fig. 9 Samarra, *jami'* of al-Mutawakkil, plan of excavations in *ziyāda* (after Rabi').

south sides of which were arcaded.³¹ One can assume on symmetrical grounds that the area to the northwest of the mosque was similarly arranged. On Herzfeld's plan (Fig. 8) there are other courtyards surrounded by small rooms flanking the southern covered hall of the mosque, and a larger such courtyard building is shown further to the west. These courtyard areas perhaps would have been used as temporary or even in some cases permanent accommodation for members of the huge staff that would have constantly been in attendance at the mosque.

Behind the qibla wall was a slightly smaller building with three courtyards, presumably for the exclusive use of the caliph and his retinue when he went to lead prayers. It is likely that the whole *ziyāda* on the qibla side was off limits to anyone but the caliph and his entourage. A variety of smaller rooms are to be seen in the north and west outer *ziyādas*, presumably storage rooms of different kinds and ablutions areas, including toilets.

That the sheer force of numbers present at Friday prayers was more than enough to fill the *ziyādas* can be inferred from contemporary sources. Ya'qūbī informs us that the original reason for the construction of the mosque of al-Mutawakkil was that the previous one built by al-Mu'taṣim was too small.³² He writes that it was built in a broad space beyond the houses and not in contact with the allotments and markets. Access to it was provided by means of three wide rows of shops, each 100 black cubits wide, in order that the approaches should not be too narrow for the caliph when he visited the mosque on Fridays with his troops and followers, cavalry and infantry.³³ The presence of the army alone, some 37,000 strong in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, would have been enough to fill all of the mosque and *ziyādas*.³⁴

The mosque of Abu Dulaf

The mosque of Abu Dulaf dating to 860, also built by al-Mutawakkil, is our second example, only slightly smaller than the first.³⁵ Direct evidence of overcrowding is provided by the results of excavations by the Iraq Department of Antiquities, which uncovered double arcades added on the outside of the mosque on the west north and east sides, within the space of the inner *ziyāda*. They were definitely an addition, as they were not bonded with the walls, and the need must have been great, for this can only have happened within the extremely short life span of the building of a year and half, before al-Mutawakkil was murdered in 961 and the city was abandoned.³⁶ This short life of the building also shows that the *ziyādas* were planned integrally with the mosque; there is no question of them being later additions. In the *ziyāda* behind the qibla wall another courtyard building surrounded by small rooms was found, one with direct access to the mihrab of the mosque, and so clearly another suite reserved for the caliph.³⁷

Al-Ṭabarī has some interesting comments on the prayers in the month of Ramaḍān just before al-Mutawakkil died. On the first day of Ramaḍān it became common knowledge that the caliph would lead the prayer at the end of the month. The significance of this was that it was an opportunity for people to present petitions and air grievances, for al-Ṭabarī goes on to say that the people assembled in order to see the caliph, thronging together, and that the Hashemites left Baghdad to

31 Rabi' al-Qayṣī, "Jāmi' al-jum'ā fi Sāmarrā': takhṭi' wāṣiyyāna," *Sumer* 25 (1969), pp. 143-62.

32 *Kitaḥ al-buldān*, tr. G. Wiet as *Les pays* (Cairo, 1937), pp. 52-3.

33 Cited in Creswell, *EMA*, vol. 2, p. 254.

34 The non-Turkish troops have been estimated at the end of the reign of al-Mutawakkil as 20,000 cavalry and 13,000 infantry; at the beginning of his reign the Turkish troops numbered 3,000-4,000: Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century* (Harlow, 1986), p. 169.

35 Creswell, *EMA*, vol. 2, pp. 278-82.

36 The report is most easily accessible in K. A. C. Creswell and James W. Allan, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (Cairo, 1989), pp. 370-2.

37 *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

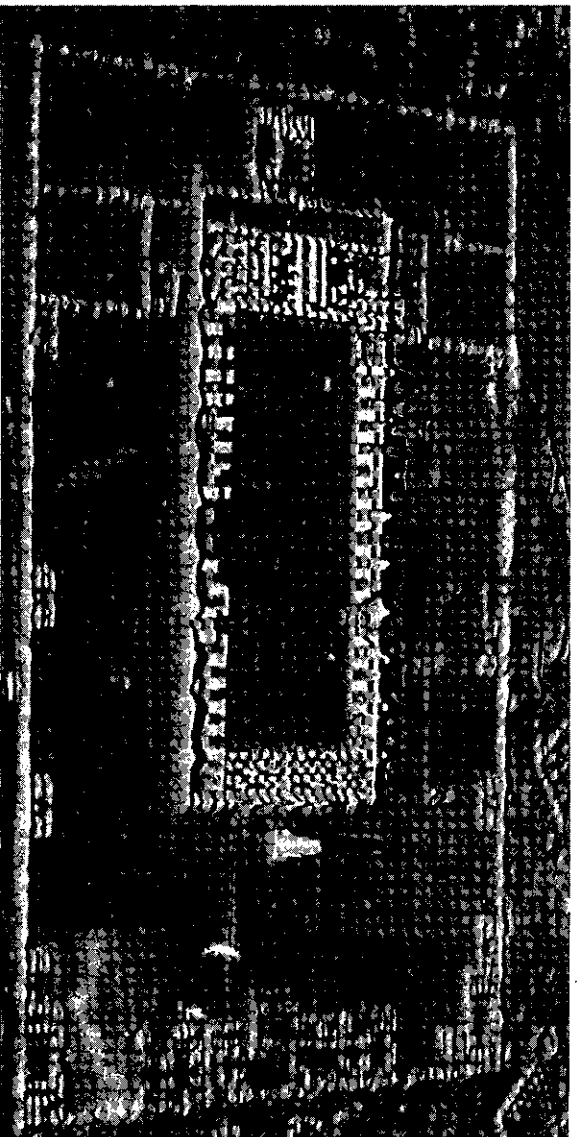


Fig. 10 Samarra, al-Ja'fariyya, *jāmi'* of Abū Dulaf, aerial view.

present petitions to him and to speak with him when he went out riding. His ministers advised him not to go because of the crowds and his son al-Muntasir was given the job instead. Nevertheless, it was reported that on the day of the holiday of the breaking of the Ramadan fast the crowds were so great that they formed lines four *mil* (eight km) long.³⁸ If this was one's only chance to right a grievance then perhaps it was no wonder that enormous spaces had to be planned to accommodate the crowds at Friday prayers.

The whole of the *ziyāda* area of the mosque of Abū Dulaf has not been excavated, but if it ever is, we should expect to find structures similar to those indicated in the *ziyādas* of the great mosque of al-Mutawakkil. This can at least be partially confirmed in an aerial view of the *ziyāda* of Abū Dulaf (Fig. 10). We can make out the outlines of a regular series of structures which are not likely to be the result of later encroachment, given their regularity, and the abandonment of the site and its neighborhood.

In 860 it is recorded that al-Mutawakkil performed the prayer of Breaking the Fast in al-Ja'fariyya and that 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Mūsā prayed in its Friday mosque.³⁹ Where then did al-Mutawakkil perform the prayer in this year? I presume this must be a reference to a *musalla* in the area, and shows that the number of worshippers at its greatest would have been more than could be accommodated in the great mosque and its *ziyādas*. Shown on aerial photographs⁴⁰ and marked on some plans of the area⁴¹ to the east of the Dār al-Khiṭāfa is a qibla-oriented structure which has been labelled a *musalla*, its area being close to that of the great mosque of al-Mutawakkil including its *ziyādas*. If it too was considered necessary for prayers on feast days in addition to those held at the great mosque of al-Mutawakkil, then it is no wonder that *ziyādas* were considered necessary for the mosques of Samarra.

38 *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, tr. Joel L. Kraemer as *Incipient Decline*, Bibliotheca Persica, *The History of al-Jahārī*, vol.

34 (Albany, 1989), pp. 171-3.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

40 Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Stadt Samarra* (Berlin, 1948).

41 Most easily available in Alastair Northedge, "An Interpretation of the Palace of the Caliph at Samarra (Dār al-Khiṭāfa or Jansaq al-Khaḡanī)," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993) (published 1994), Fig. 9.

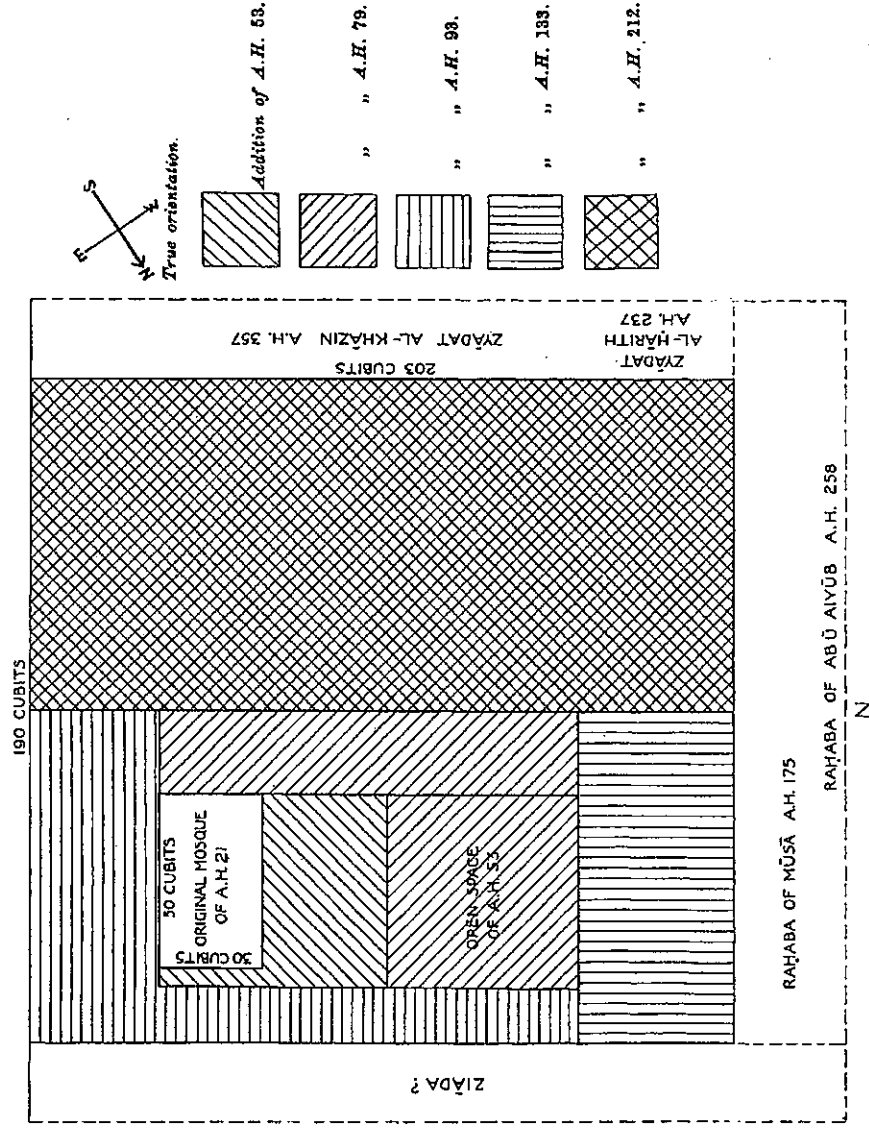


Fig. 11 Cairo, mosque of 'Amr, sketch plan with ziyādas (after Creswell).

The mosque of 'Amr

In the mosques of Egypt a complication arises: that of the *raḥba*, defined by al-Maqrīzī as a spacious area (*mawḍi' wāsi'*).⁴² How can this be differentiated from the *ziyāda*? My initial impression is that, like those of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, the *ziyāda* is distinguished by high walls (Fig. 13), whereas a *raḥba* would have had either low walls to mark its limits, or none at all, being defined by the surrounding buildings. Another problem thrown up by the sources is a terminological one: the use of *ziyāda* itself. Its literal meaning of extension can be applied to any later extension that might simply enlarge a mosque,⁴³ as well as to the normally unroofed courts with high walls that we might first think of as *ziyādas*, on analogy with the best preserved examples, those of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (Fig. 13).

The first mention of a *raḥba* in connection with mosques in Egypt is one added to the mosque of 'Amr in 791 by Mūsā b. 'Isā al-Hāshimī on the side opposite the qibla (Fig. 11).⁴⁴ The whole mosque was almost doubled to its present size in 827. Twenty four years after this we learn that

42 *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 47, l. 16.

43 E.g. al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 249, l. 26, referring to the incorporation by Sālīh b. 'Alī of the palace (*dār*) of al-Zabīr into the mosque in 136/753-4 and *ibid.*, l. 37, referring to the enlargement of the mosque by 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir in 212/827.

44 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 249, ll. 27-9.

qadi al-Ĥārith built a *raḥba* on the southwest side of the mosque, "to accommodate the people within it" (*li-yatāsī'a al-nās biḥā*). On Fridays the people used to negotiate sales within it. The date when this took place, 237/851-2,⁴⁵ is perhaps not coincidentally that of the building of the great mosque of Samarra, whose planned *ziyādas* may have struck observers as an efficient way of dealing with crowding at Friday prayers. In 258/871-2 Abū Ayyūb also built another *raḥba* which must have been an extension of the first by Mūsā b. 'Isā, to enable it to encompass the width of the enlarged façade on the side opposite the qibla.⁴⁶ We have a report that in 357/967-8 Abū Bakr al-Khāzin added on to the *raḥba* of al-Ĥārith a *ziyāda* consisting of an arcade (*riwāq*) with a mihrab and two windows. This was an extension outside the main walls of the mosque, but the mention of windows suggests that it would have been roofed, and the presence of a mihrab indicates some sort of retaining wall. However, it was only a small extension, being just five meters (9 cubits) in length.⁴⁷ A *ziyāda* must have been added at some stage on the northeast side, as three are mentioned by Ibn al-Mutawwaj (d. 730/1329-30).

These additions would certainly have been a response to growing crowds, for Muqaddasi, writing in 985, tells of arriving late for Friday prayer to find the lines of worshippers extending for more than one mil (c. 2km) from the mosque.⁴⁸ By the early Mamluk period, however, the mosque had become neglected, as in the reign of Sultan Qalā'ūn his amir 'Izz al-Dīn al-Afrām cleared out the rubbish that had accumulated in the *ziyādas*.⁴⁹ Around this time also we read that Bahā' al-Dīn al-Sukarī was put in charge of the mosque of 'Amr and roofed the northeast *ziyāda*.⁵⁰ After the earthquake of 1302 amir Salār was appointed to carry out repairs at the mosque of 'Amr, in the course of which, according to al-Maqrīzī, he added to the roofed part of the southeast *ziyāda* two arcades, evidently an extension to that of al-Khāzin mentioned above.

Another use for the *ziyāda* is indicated by Ibn al-Mutawwaj, who notes that twice a week the chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) used to hold court in the northeast one.⁵¹ All traces of the *ziyādas* apparently disappeared before the twentieth century.

The mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn

This mosque borrowed many features from Samarra – its piers, building material, use of stucco, spiral minaret, style of ornament, and its *ziyādas*. Within the *ziyāda* on the side opposite the qibla was the *miḍa'a* and a store where poisons and medicines of every kind were kept, and where servants and a doctor were on hand every Friday in case of accident happening to the worshippers.⁵²

Maqrīzī gives an account of the house of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Naqqāsh in the *ziyāda* of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn being destroyed in 1438.⁵³ Zayn al-Dīn had received the post of *khaṭīb* of the mosque and had built an opening into the mosque, and later opened a window from his place of work in his house into the mosque so that he could see inside it while he worked. He also later added a stable and a cistern. Although his enemies tried to get it destroyed in his life-

45 *Ibid.*, p. 250, ll. 2-4, quoting al-Kindī with regard to the phrase "to accommodate the people within it."

46 *Ibid.*, p. 250, ll. 6-8.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 250, ll. 22-4.

48 Cited in Creswell, *EMA*, vol. 2, p. 172.

49 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭa*, vol. 2, p. 252, ll. 22-5.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 252, l. 38-253, l. 1: *fa-suqḥat al-ziyāda al-baḥrīyya al-sharḥīyya*. Creswell, *EMA*, vol. 2, p. 171, perhaps reading *suqḥat*, interprets this as saying the northwest and northeast *ziyādas* were in ruin, although *ziyāda* here is in the singular. 51 *Ibid.*, p. 253, ll. 24-5. The mosque itself had been used for the court of the chief judge in Fatimid times: Nāsir Khusrāw, *Safarnama*, tr. Thackston, p. 53.

52 Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭa*, vol. 2, p. 277, ll. 30-2.

53 *Sulūk*, vol. 4, part 3, pp. 1106-7.

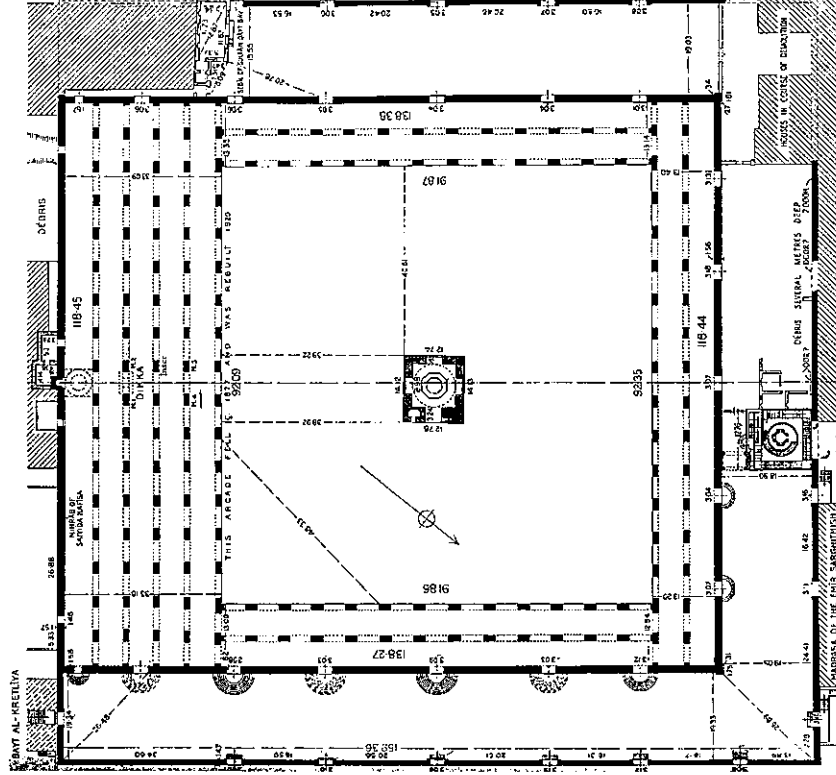


Fig. 12 Cairo, mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn, plan (after Creswell).

The mosque of al-Azhar

Having seen that four of the five early congregational mosques of Cairo and Fustat had *ziyādas*, we may wonder why the fifth, that of al-Azhar, supposedly did not have one. It did, of course, have a *raḥba* opposite its northeast side, between it and the Fatimid palace, the place where the retinue of the caliph dismounted at the time of the procession to Friday prayer.⁵⁴ Maqrīzī does not mention a *ziyāda* in his account of the mosque in the *Khīṭaṭ*, and nor does the account of any other historian that I have come across. But direct evidence for a *ziyāda* at al-Azhar is provided by Maqrīzī in his *Kitāb al-sulūk*, where he reports that in 590/1194 the *muḥtāsib* demolished the shops and stables which Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Dirbās had built in the *ziyāda* of the mosque of al-Azhar next to his house (*dar*). Ṣadr al-Dīn removed the debris to his house.⁵⁵ It was Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Dirbās who, at the beginning of Ayyubid rule, enforcing the Shaʿfiʿi regulation permitting only one congregational mosque in each town, had ordered al-Azhar to be closed to Friday prayer in favour of al-Ḥākim.⁵⁷ This makes it more likely that the *ziyāda* there did indeed date from the Fatimid period, although whether it was a part of the original plan or was added we do not know.

time, it was only in the time of his children, the legatees of the buildings, that it was ordered to be destroyed, just as, Maqrīzī adds, the house of Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Hurmās in the *ziyāda* of al-Ḥākim had been destroyed at the time of Sultan Ḥasan. This last report admittedly shows the care that we have to take with the terminology of al-Maqrīzī, for in all other instances he reports that the house of al-Hurmās was in the *raḥba* of the mosque of al-Ḥākim,⁵⁴ apparently being where the *wakāla* of Qaytbāy is now. Qaytbāy also encroached on the *ziyāda* of the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn, building a *sabīl* on its southwest side (Fig. 12). Domestic dwellings also came creeping back in later centuries, as Creswell's early twentieth century plan shows (Fig. 12).

54 E.g., *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. 2, pp. 76-7.

55 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 47: under "*raḥbat jāmiʿ al-Azhar*."

56 Vol. 1, part 1, p. 150.

57 *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. 2, p. 275, ll. 33-8.

It is also difficult to determine whether it was on the northeast side, in which case it would have formed part of the *rehba*, or on the northwest. The fact that there are two substantial buildings dating from the Mamluk period on the northwest side – the Aqbughāwiyya madrasa of 1329, built on the site of the palace (*dār*) of the Mamluk amir Aydamur al-Hillī, and the Ṭaybarsīyya madrasa of 1309, suggests that there was also originally a substantial open space on front of the mosque on that side (Fig. 14).⁵⁸ In 988 the caliph al-ʿAzīz had ordered other dwellings to be built beside (*bi-jānib*) the mosque for the jurists who first taught there.⁵⁹ The Arabic preposition “beside” (*bi-jānib*) is as ambiguous as the English here: it could mean contiguous or nearby. But since the houses were expressly built for those working in the mosque then an obvious location would have been against the outer wall, within – or creating – a new *ziyāda*.

Al-Maqrīzī also mentions that the mosque did not originally have a *mīdāʿa*, and that one had been built on the location of the Aqbughāwiyya madrasa. However, one must have been built shortly after the foundation of the mosque, for among the endowments that al-Ḥākim made in 1009 to the mosque of al-Azhar, the *dār* al-ʿIlm and two other mosques was a sum of twelve dinars for cleaning the *mīdāʿa*.⁶⁰ We have seen that the *mīdāʿa* of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn was within the *ziyāda*, and probably also the *mīdāʿa* of the mosque of al-Ḥākim; this may suggest that the *ziyāda* of al-Azhar was located on the northwest side of the mosque (where the Aqbughāwiyya madrasa now stands). Circumstantial evidence for storerooms attached to the mosque comes from the same endowment of al-Ḥākim, which included funds for incense, candle wax, charcoal, ropes, buckets, brooms, water jars, oil, etc., and a bequest of two lanterns (*tannūrān*) and twenty smaller ones which were for use in Ramaḍān and were to be stored at other times.⁶¹ These storerooms, which must have been substantial, might also have been situated in the *ziyāda*.

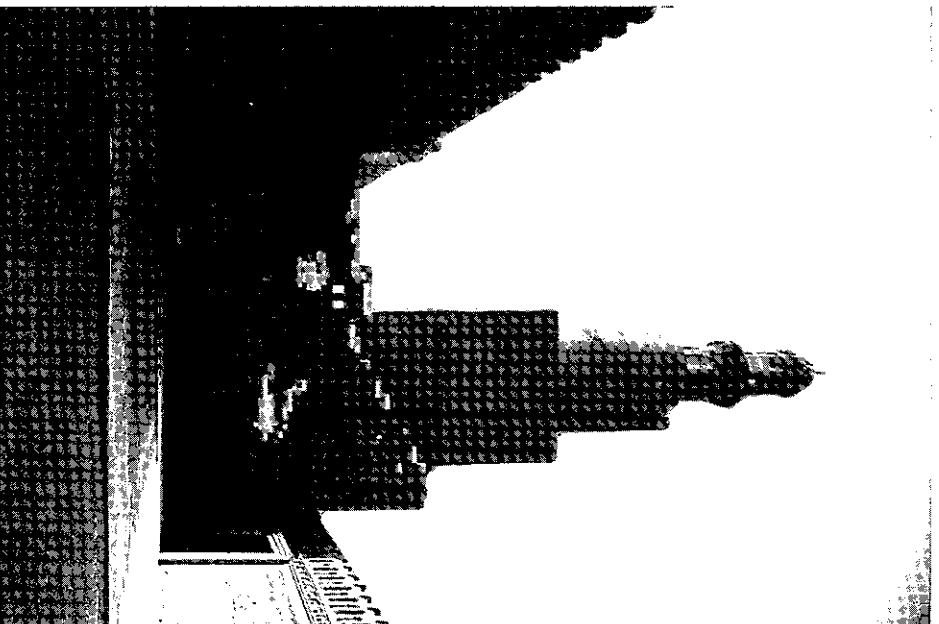


Fig. 13 Cairo, mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, existing *ziyāda*.

58 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 383-4. Ṭaybars made his madrasa a (neighbourhood) mosque for God as an extension to the (congregational) mosque of al-Azhar (*ḡaʿalaḥa masjid Allāh la ʿatā ziyāda fi ʿl-jānib al-Azhar*): *ibid.*, p. 383, l. 13. It is difficult to know whether al-Maqrīzī's use here of the term *ziyāda* in its sense of extension precludes the madrasa having been situated in a *ziyāda* in the sense of Samarṭan *ziyādas* and their Egyptian parallels. The passage is interpreted by Nasser Rabhat, "Al-Azhar Mosque: An Architectural Chronicle of Cairo's History," *Miqarnas* 13 (1996), p. 57, to mean a "complementary mosque."

59 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 273, ll. 29-30.

60 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 275, ll. 5-6.

61 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 274, l. 27- p. 275, l. 8.

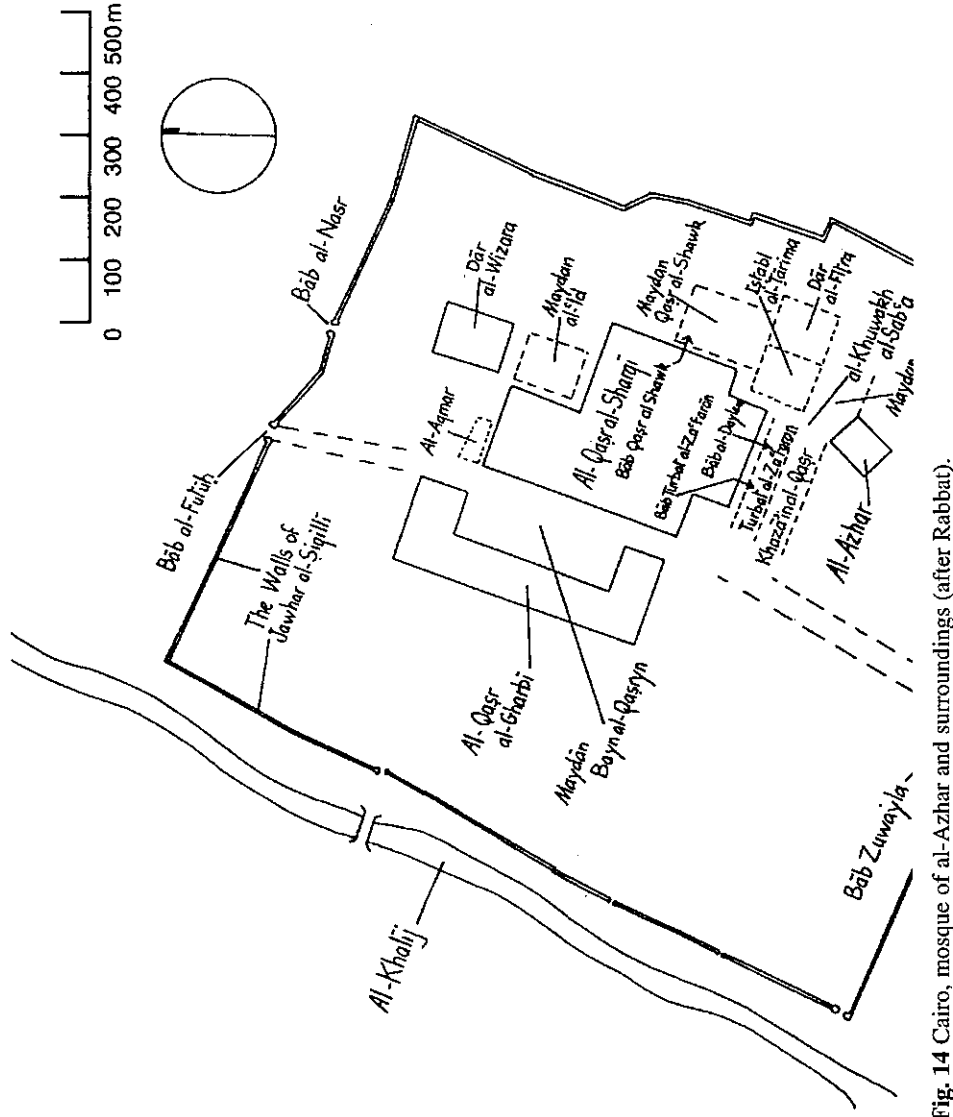


Fig. 14 Cairo, mosque of al-Azhar and surroundings (after Rabbat).

The purposes of the *ziyāda*

I will return to the uses that have been made of *ziyādas* below, but it is worth asking ourselves what the original purpose of the *ziyāda* might have been. Creswell, writing of the *ziyādas* of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, gave the answer in these terms:

"These *ziyādas* must be regarded as corresponding to the outer *temenos* of a Semitic sanctuary, such as the Arab conquerors met when they captured Damascus. The object of such an outer *temenos* was doubtless to separate the sanctuary proper from the outer buildings of the town. As for the lay-out of the town itself, the arrangement in the Hellenistic cities of Syria generally was that the four streets from the four gates, placed at the cardinal points, struck the centre of the four sides of the *temenos*, as at Damascus. Similarly, in the earliest mosques of Islam, e.g. at Kūfa, the four main streets converged on three sides of the mosque, the qibla side of course being occupied by the Dār al-Imārah. The same condition held good for the mosque of 'Amr, and it is clear from the names of the doors... that (they) were at the end of bazaars...

One must therefore conclude that the outer doors of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn likewise marked the ends of bazaars converging on its outer walls, and that the *ziyādas* served to isolate the mosque

proper from contact with them. It follows that the clearing, in recent years, of a large area round the mosque at enormous expense, so that the *ziyādas* are also isolated, is based on a misconception..."⁶²

Creswell's point about the unnecessary clearing around the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn is well taken (and can be applied to the similar recent clearance around the *temenos* of the great mosque of Damascus), but it may be wondered whether isolation of the mosque proper was initially thought to be necessary or desirable. It did not stop major mosques, such as, for instance, the great mosques of Isfahan and Tunis and the Qarawiyūn mosque at Fez from acquiring bazars which abutted on to the mosque proper.

The main distinguishing factor between the mosque and the *ziyāda* is that the latter is unroofed. As such the *ziyāda* is a compromise between having a larger roofed mosque and a smaller one that abuts on to an open space that may or may not remain available for overspill at times of Friday prayers. The outer walls of a *ziyāda* ensured that the intervening space would not be built on, and extended the space available for worshippers at minimal cost.

The problem, if such it was, of keeping the outer walls free from encroachments, disappeared with the change of style in later centuries which brought decorated façades to mosques. Already under the Fatimids a small number of monumental entrances had replaced the large number of identical ones of the mosques of Samarra and Ibn Ṭūlūn, and the continuously decorated façade of the Ṣālihiyya madrasa in Cairo (begun 1242) was obviously a message that it was not to be built against. Even earlier, the mosque al-Aqmar had the best of both worlds: a decorated façade and shops in a basement below.⁶³

Only in the major Ottoman monuments of Istanbul and elsewhere, such as the Fatih, Şezade, and Süleymaniye complexes, do we find anything resembling *ziyādas*. There, they were clearly not needed to prevent the encroachment of surrounding buildings, as the surrounding buildings were already planned as part of the complex. Several factors may have been at work in the planning of these spaces. The space around the Fatih mosque was apparently used as a camping ground, and it is even large enough to review troops.⁶⁴ Some 7,000 Janissaries accompanied Sultan Süleyman to Friday prayer and would certainly not have been able to squeeze inside the domed mosque of his complex or even its main courtyard.⁶⁵ But the verticality of these complexes needs room from which to appreciate their monumentality, and without the outer courtyards the surrounding buildings would have impinged upon the spaciousness of the planning.

The adaptive reuse of buildings is a concept much employed in recent literature on architectural conservation. It is a concept that seems to have been discovered before its time by those using *ziyādas*, who have managed to transform them into, or with, ablutions areas, storerooms, medicine dispensaries, prisons, courts, churches, houses, stables, shops, a mosque for the dead, cisterns, *sabihs* (water dispensaries), passageways, areas for the temporary incarceration of the *ahl al-dhimmī*, rubbish dumps⁶⁶ and putative locations of treasure troves.⁶⁷

⁶² EMA, vol. 2, p. 340.

⁶³ *Khiṭaʾi*, vol. 2, p. 290, ll. 6-7.

⁶⁴ Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971), pp. 122, 128.

⁶⁵ André Thievet, *Cosmographie de Levant*, cited in Giliṇu Necipoglu-Kafadar, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: an Interpretation," *Miqanmas* 3 (1985), p. 98.

⁶⁶ In addition to the rubbish in the *ziyādas* of the mosque of 'Amr mentioned above (n. 48), Creswell noted that the *ziyādas* of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn had been used for dumping builders' refuse: EMA, vol. 2, p. 340.

⁶⁷ Uses hardly more varied than that of the interior of mosques, of course, for which see J. Pedersen, "Masǧid," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition. For just one later example, see the expulsion in 828 by the amir Ṣūdm of 750 indigent people who had been living in the mosque of al-Azhar: al-Maqrīṣī, *Khiṭaʾi*, vol. 2, p. 276, l. 34 – p. 277, l. 3. For madrasas used in Ayyubid Syria as amirial residences, collection points for booty, jails, arms storehouses and centres for the training of civilians in military skills, see Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 58.

This catalogue does at least emphasise one feature of the *ziyāda* that might have been designed from the start, its versatility. It may also have been the case that not all *ziyādas* were intended to perform the same function, the equivalent of the caliph's retinue at Samarra, for instance, not being found on the same scale anywhere in pre-Fatimid Egypt, although Ibn Tūlūn may have tried to replicate it. Egyptian *ziyādas* may have worked differently from Samarran ones, and pre-Fatimid from Fatimid ones. Could the corresponding emphasis on Fatimid ceremonial have played any part in those of al-Azhar and al-Ḥākim? While it would be pleasing to find such a link, the evidence seems to be against it: they were not built by the time the early Fatimid caliphs had transformed Cairo into a ritual city. At al-Azhar, the *ziyāda*, even if it was on the northwest side, is unlikely to have had such a monumental entrance as that of the mosque proper. As the out of alignment walls of the door to the *mīḍa'a* (and probably also to the *ziyāda*) of al-Ḥākim show (Fig. 1), it was an afterthought that never quite integrated itself into the life of the mosque. But we should not let its near total oblivion obscure from us the interesting part which it had to play in the history of the mosque of al-Ḥākim and in the history of this still enigmatic part of early mosques, the *ziyāda* itself.